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PAPINEAU AND HIS HOME.

BY THOMAS P. GORMAN.

A BEAUTIFUL chateau on the Ottawa River at Monte Bello, in the Province of Quebec, is the home of the Papineau family, the son, grand-children and great-grand-children of Louis Joseph Papineau, the leader of the Canadian insurrection of 1837-38, and the greatest man that French-Canada ever produced. Curiously enough, the rising generation of the Papineaus will be in sympathies and in language Americans. They will be French only in name. The present head of the family and proprietor of the Castle or "Manor House" at Monte Bello, Mr. Louis J. A. Papineau, son of the revolutionary leader, married an American lady, Miss Westcott, of Saratoga. His only son, who resides with him, married Miss Rogers of Philadelphia, a beautiful and charming lady, who is the mother of an interesting family of four sons, the eldest of whom, Louis Joseph, is twelve years old. English is the language of the household, though French is spoken also. The retainers and servants who keep the magnificent park and grounds in order and attend to other duties upon the estate or Seignior, are both French and English. Mr. L. J. A. Papineau, inherited from his father a thorough contempt for shams and subterfuges of all kinds. He is a thorough democrat. He was a founder of the sons of liberty. When the uprising took place in 1837 he was old enough to shoulder a musket, and became the captain of a company in the regiment led by Colonel Rudolph Des Rivières, who was afterwards transported to Bermuda for his part in the insurrection, but was allowed to return the next year. Among the articles in Mr. Papineau's highly interesting museum, are the flag which the insur-

gents carried, and the musket and sword carried by Captain Papineau himself. Mr. Papineau filled for thirty-two years the office of joint prothonotary in Montreal. After his resignation, he travelled extensively in Europe, but for some years he has devoted all his attention to the beautiful seignior.

On a knoll in the wooded park, on the roadway leading from the chateau to the village, stands the mausoleum or tomb of the Papineaus, a small private chapel, in the vault of which rest the bones of the great Canadian leader, and also those of his father, wife, a son and a daughter. This tomb is visible from the steamboat landing through an opening or lane in the park, and patriotic Canadians make pilgrimages to it every year.

In the history of Canada the locality around Monte Bello is noted as the place where the *Petite Nation* of Algonquin Indians lived, and where they were almost exterminated by the Iroquois. The Seignior fronts fifteen miles on the Ottawa and runs fifteen miles back. In front the broad river flows along majestically, while about two miles to the north, behind the village, the Laurentian mountains rise abruptly to a considerable height. The Seignior was originally the property of Joseph Papineau, father of Louis Joseph. The son purchased the place from his father in 1816, and repaired thither, towards the close of his long and stormy career, to create a beautiful home for himself and his family, and to end his days in quiet retirement.

The tourist or traveller ascending the Ottawa sees on the right bank, upon an elevated point or bluff projecting into the river, a splendid forest

FC451 of oak, elm and maple trees, in the
 136 front of which, half-buried in foliage,
 is a large quadrangular three story
 [567 edifice, with high towers at the angles,
 after the French fashion. This is the
 *** chateau where the great Canadian
 patriot ended his days, and where his
 descendants reside. Around are well
 kept gardens and flower beds, and an
 extensive museum, which the proprietor
 throws open twice a week to picnickers
 and other visitors, while in front, and
 some distance to the westward, are a
 number of wooded islands. What an
 ideal retreat for a weary statesman!

The house itself is very large. It has
 spacious halls and many handsome
 chambers. The chief rooms are, of
 course, the two drawing-rooms, furnished
 in the old French style. But the principal
 feature of the drawing-room is the view
 of the Ottawa obtained from its lofty
 windows. No river scenery is more
 charming. The portion of the establishment
 which shares the honors with the drawing-
 room is the library. This literary depository,
 containing papers of great historical
 value, and several thousand choice
 volumes, is a tower separate and
 distinct from the main building: it is
 reached by a bridge from the house,
 the gates or doors to which are of
 iron. The isolation of the library was
 determined upon in order to preserve
 its contents from destruction by fire,
 and it is scarcely necessary to add
 that the building is fireproof.

A few months ago Mr. Papineau
 created a sensation in Canada by protesting
 vigorously against a proposal to build
 a new church at Monte Bello in place
 of the existing structure and in an open
 letter to Archbishop Duhamel made a
 strong appeal, as an antiquarian and a
 historian, for the preservation of the old
 church, which had been erected by his
 grandfather, and extended by his father,
 and in which he still has a seigniorial
 interest, and holds the 'Seigneur's pew.'
 Mr. Papineau entered a strong remon-

strance against the practice of erecting
 costly churches in poor parishes, and
 thus unnecessarily burdening the people.
 He contended that the existing church
 is ample for the needs of the parish,
 and offered to contribute a large sum
 towards repairing it. The spire of the
 old church is visible from Mr. Papineau's
 library window, through a vista in the
 tree tops which he keeps constantly open.

Monte Bello is a village of about
 eight hundred inhabitants, built chiefly
 along one street, and the houses are
 mostly of wood.

The Papineau Chateau and Mausoleum
 are the principal objects of interest in
 the place. The Mayor of the village,
 Mr. H. Bourassa, is a member of the
 Papineau family, being the son of an
 eminent Canadian artist, who married
 a daughter of Louis Joseph Papineau.
 Mr. Bourassa, who is not thirty years
 old, is a rising politician and a journalist.

Papineau is the strongest character in
 French-Canadian history. By earnest
 and persistent agitation, and unselfish
 devotion to their interest, he secured
 for his compatriots representative
 government and political liberty. There
 is a close similarity between the
 character and career of Papineau, the
 leader of the patriots of Lower Canada,
 and those of William Lyon Mackenzie,
 the leader of the Upper Canada patriots,
 who also headed an insurrection in
 1837 against the misrule of the
 Government. Papineau was a
 parliamentarian and a journalist. So
 was Mackenzie. Both struggled to
 throw off the despotism of governors
 surrounded by irresponsible advisers.
 Mackenzie was denied the parliamentary
 rights to which he was entitled by
 virtue of his election. So was Papineau.
 The two patriot leaders fled to the
 United States, after rewards had been
 offered for their capture, and both
 returned, after years of exile, to be
 re-elected to parliament. Some of
 Mackenzie's followers were hanged in
 Toronto. Twelve of Papineau's

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eau's lieutenants suffered death on the scaffold in Montreal, while many more were transported to Bermuda and Australia for treason.

Louis Joseph Papineau was born in Montreal in October, 1786, and died at Monte Bello in September, 1871, being then nearly 85 years old. His father, a notary public, descended from a family that had emigrated from Montigny, France, was a man of majestic stature, who had served in the original parliament of the colony, and his mother was a sister of the Hon. D. B. Viger, and of the mother of Monseigneur Lartigue, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Montreal. At school Louis Joseph was an earnest student, sacrificing recreation to reading. Leaving college at the age of seventeen, he became a law student in the office of his cousin, D. B. Viger, a prominent politician, and was soon admitted to the bar. But young Papineau's abilities as a powerful and patriotic orator were already known to his countrymen, who elected him to parliament for the division which now forms Chambly County, before his admission to the bar. He entered the assembly in 1810, and soon took his place as a leader in the battle for constitutional government with Sir James Craig, the then Governor. So fierce was the conflict that members of the legislature were sent to prison, while soldiers, acting under the orders of the Governor, destroyed the office of the newspaper organ of the Canadian party. In 1815 Papineau was elected for one of the divisions of Montreal, and continued to represent that city until the insurrection in 1837.

Like his father, Louis Joseph Papineau was a man of splendid physique and commanding presence. Nearly six feet in height, broad-chested, with finely-moulded, handsome face, piercing eye, a deep, magnificent voice and a manner courteous and kind, he was a born leader of men. One of the best sketches of Papineau's life is that written in 1872 by the late T. S.

Brown, a Scotchman, who was the commander of the insurrectionary forces, and who, like his chief, lived to a great age.

To appreciate the motives which actuated Papineau and his associates, it is necessary to review the condition of affairs which he found when he entered public life. In 1791 Great Britain established in her colony of Lower Canada a legislative assembly, invested nominally with all the attributes of the British House of Com-



LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU.

mons. But there was also a legislative council whose members were appointed by Crown, and an executive council chosen by the Governor. Not daring to exercise its just powers, the assembly had for a quarter of a century submitted to the dictation of the councils and the officials, who for the most part had no sympathy whatever with the aspirations or feelings of the colonists. The Governor, always a military officer, was a convenient tool in the hands of the officials sent out from London, and it became the duty

of Papineau to inspire his countrymen, and more especially the members of the legislative assembly, with courage to insist upon their rights and powers. Before he came on the scene the members of the elected body could discuss, deliberate and vote, but their decisions amounted practically to nothing, for the Governor, on the advice of councillors of his own selection, could veto every act of the assembly. The only redress was an appeal to the Colonial office in London, from which a satisfactory judgment was very seldom obtained. Thus Papineau became the leader of the people in their struggle against an autocratic bureaucracy, and the champion of representative institutions in Canada.

While Papineau was Speaker, he was, in fact as well as in name, "The First Commoner." He was not merely the chairman of the assembly, and the protector of the rights of its members, but he would frequently call another member to the chair and descend to the floor to take part in the debate. He was in fact leader of the majority party.

The war of 1812-15 between Canada and the United States had induced Sir George Prevost, the Governor of the time, to adopt a policy of conciliation towards the French-Canadians, with the view of securing their fealty. This allayed political asperities somewhat, and the French-Canadians assisted in repelling the American invaders during that period. Among the volunteers enrolled under the British flag was Mr. Papineau, who was given a commission as a captain of militia. As an evidence of his generous spirit, it is related that while the British forces were conducting a portion of Hull's army from Lachine to Montreal as prisoners of war, a regimental band of the regulars struck up "Yankee Doodle" to annoy the Americans who had surrendered their arms; whereupon Captain Papineau wheeled his company out of line, declaring he would not countenance such an insult

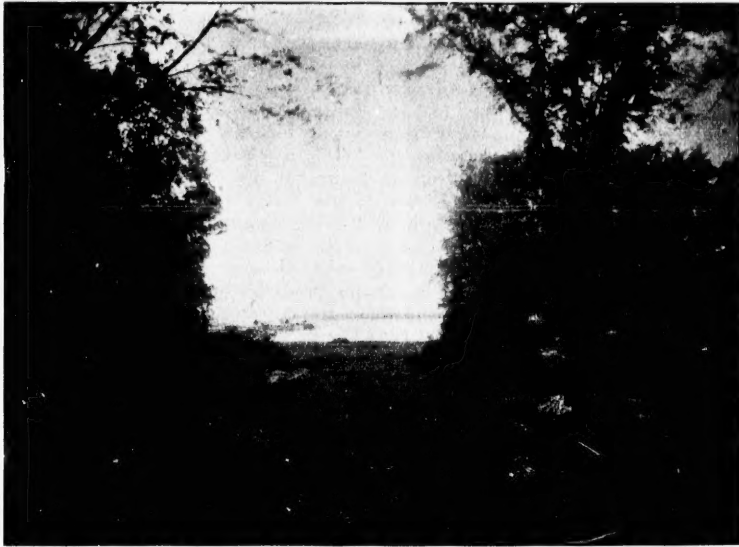
to helpless men. Instead of being court-martialed and reprimanded, he was commended by the Governor for his conduct. It was in 1815 that Mr. Papineau succeeded Mr. Panet as Speaker of the Lower Canadian Assembly and leader of the French Canadian party. He was then but 29 years old, but his every thought was devoted to public affairs. Venerable officials still living, who served as officers of parliament under Papineau, describe him as one who always showed great consideration towards them. It was his habit when parliament met to visit every employé thereof, and on leaving at the end of each session he would bid each man a formal farewell.

For nearly ten years Papineau continued, in and out of Parliament, his constitutional struggle for responsible government, and both in public and private life he stood irreproachable.

In 1818 he married Mlle. Julie Bruneau, daughter of Pierre Bruneau, of Quebec, a merchant and member of parliament. Madame Papineau was a superior woman in intellect and education as well as in personal attractions, and was also a devoted wife and mother. She followed her husband cheerfully into exile, and shared all his privations. Mr. Papineau's marriage was in every respect a happy one. Madame Papineau died at Monte Bello on the 18th of August, 1862, nine years before her husband.

Soon after the arrival in Canada, in 1820, of the Earl of Dalhousie, the Lower Canadian legislature was called upon to provide for the whole civil list of the colony, an undertaking to that effect having been made two years before. Though the public accounts showed an excess of expenditure over revenue, Dalhousie insisted that the money for the support of himself and his government should be voted *en bloc*, payable annually during the life of the king. To this proposition Papineau and his friends objected, holding that the money should be voted in detail, and that all expenditure ac-

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counts should be subject to the inspection of the legislature. There were many holders of dual portions, sinecurists and obnoxious persons drawing pay from the public treasury. These the assembly sought to get rid of by refusing to vote their salaries, but the Governor and his councillors desired to shield them, and so required the money in bulk to pay out as they pleased. Papineau, in support of his views, pointed to the checks imposed upon expenditure by the British House of Commons, while the Governor pleaded the "prerogative of the crown." For a dozen years this struggle continued; the Governor demanding that the money for civil government be granted in bulk, and the assembly claiming full control over the revenues of the colony. A number of side issues arose. An Act for the regulation of trade passed by the British Parliament, caused much irritation in Canada. The Receiver-General, Sir John Caldwell, was defended by the

Governor when he refused, until a defalcation of more than £100,000 was discovered, to render to the assembly a statement of his accounts. Concessions were obtained by the assembly very slowly, and nearly every measure passed by the assembly would be thrown out by the legislative council. In the hope of neutralizing his influence and winning his support, the Governor made Papineau a member of the executive council in 1818. The method had proved successful in other cases, but, to the Governor's astonishment, Papineau appeared at the council meetings, and opposed the policy of the government with all his might.

During this period, the population became divided upon national lines. The French-Canadians, with few exceptions, stood by Papineau, while the English residents, fearing "French domination," sided with the Governor. Some French-Canadians, fond of "society," and taught to regard opposition to the established order of things as

useless, were won over to the "loyal" side, from time to time, by appointments or promises of preferment; and Papineau sometimes found his strongest antagonists among deserters from his own camp.

It is a curious fact, however, that when the insurrection took place its real leaders were Wolfred Nelson, an Englishman; Thomas Storrow Brown, a Scotchman, and E. B. O'Callaghan, an Irishman.

In 1822, Papineau and John Neilson went to England and succeeded in inducing the British Parliament to throw out a bill having for its object the union of the two Canadas. The grievances of the Lower Canadians continued to accumulate. The clergy preached submission, and the Governor's party spoke of Papineau and his followers as "rebels." Mr. Papineau was re-elected Speaker when parliament met in 1827, but the Earl of Dalhousie, still Governor, refused to approve the choice of the assembly, which would elect nobody else and the result was that the Governor was recalled by the British Government, and his successor, Sir James Kempt, was sent out to approve, in a speech prepared for him in London, the choice of the assembly. A special committee of the British House of Commons made a report admitting the justice of Mr. Papineau's interpretation of the right conferred upon the Canadian Legislature by the Constitution of 1791, but Her Majesty's Ministers never awoke from their lethargy until the news of the insurrection and the battles at St. Denis and St. Charles reached them. Then they came to the conclusion that the only way to retain Canada in possession of the British Crown was to grant to the people the legislative powers which they demanded.

Papineau was the great popular leader of his day. While Dalhousie and Gosford were the upholders of misrule, he was the champion of colonial self-government. For years he refused the salary of one thousand

pounds offered him, contrary to law, by the executive, although he had abandoned his legal practice, and his Seigniorial yielded no revenue. In the early years of his Speakership he accepted the salary fixed by law as provision for his support. "With one-half," says Brown, "he maintained and educated his family; the other half, with little thought for prospective private requirements, was expended in aid of an ill-supported liberal press, and in those numerous calls of which public men who have not their hands in the public treasury know the cost." The great mass of his countrymen supported him nobly with their votes, and his will, proclaimed in parliament and from a hundred platforms, was law with the French-Canadian masses. Spurning all efforts at compromise, and offers of official preferment, he struggled with voice and pen for political liberty for his compatriots, and his power and earnestness carried down all opposition. Adapting Dean Swift's advice to the Irish, to burn everything that came from England, except coals, Papineau exhorted the Canadians to abstain from the use of all duty-paying articles, in order to diminish the revenue, which he said was only collected to be stolen. Peaceful popular demonstrations greeted him wherever he appeared, but he never advocated violent measures, and discountenanced the preparations for an armed insurrection. He only asked what in the end was cheerfully conceded by Great Britain to all her colonies. When the younger men of his party lost patience and prepared to defend themselves and their leader against arrest, they formed an organization called the "Sons of Liberty." Thomas Storrow Brown was made general of the military branch of the organization. A meeting held in Montreal on the 6th November, 1837, led to riots, arrests for sedition and a proclamation of martial law, and Papineau went to the Richelieu district, where Brown and Nelson already had

prepared execution arrest.

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Governor Gosford resisted to the utmost the efforts of Mr. Papineau to procure responsible government for his compatriots, but a letter, written on the 7th December, 1847, by the Governor to Mr. Daly, (afterwards Sir Dominic Daly, Governor of Prince Edward Island and of South Australia) who was a member of the Canadian Government for many years, shows that Papineau won the admiration of his antagonists. Lord Gosford, then in England, wrote:—"I am very glad that Mr. Papineau has returned to Canada, also that he enjoys good health. I do not believe that our sentiments differed much as to the general situation of Canada. He insisted on certain points which I could not yield, although on several occasions I would gladly have done so. I should have desired that he remained at Quebec. I have always considered his departure for Montreal a misfortune. Had he remained in Quebec how many troubles and political broils we might have avoided! I always recall with satisfaction my conversations with Mr. Papineau, in which he expressed sentiments and opinions which reflected the highest honor to his intelligence and to his heart. If you meet him, kindly express to him my best regards, with my remembrance of him, should you think it would be agreeable to him to receive them."

Another document, written in 1835, which throws a great deal of light upon the condition of affairs in Lower Canada in the fourth decade of this century, is a letter written by Mr. T. Fred. Elliott, who was sent out by

the British Government as secretary to the Gosford commission, to his friend Henry Taylor of the Colonial office, (afterwards Sir Henry Taylor). The secretary of the commission evidently obtained a clearer knowledge of the situation than the commissioner. Lord Howick, the war secretary of the time, wrote of Elliott's letter as decidedly the best paper on Canadian affairs he had ever read, and asked that it be shown to Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, and to King William IV.; he also requested permission to use the information contained therein in preparing a statement of his views as to what the Government's policy towards Canada should be. Mr. Elliott, who was a nephew of the first Lord Minto, described the several factions, as the



L. J. A. PAPINEAU.
(The present head of the family.)

Official, the English, and the French classes; the first named being composed chiefly of place-holders, dull and interested, fond of privilege, but almost devoid of influence. The English party was composed of merchants and

landowners, wealthy and intelligent. Yet Mr. Elliott said he did not like the English party, regarding it as "fully as ambitious of domination as the French party, and prepared to seek it by more unscrupulous means." He expressed the opinion that the English party would be first to cut adrift from the Mother country, if such a step became expedient, as they were "by far the best disposed to sympathize with Republican principles, and most capable of wielding Republican institutions. Of the French party, Mr. Elliott says:—"The Quebec leaders, I have learned, flatter themselves that they act from prudence, because, as they argue, while they are outnumbered by the Montreal members, who are under Papineau's more immediate influence, it would be an unjustifiable disturbance to insist on any but fundamental differences of opinion. Others again hug themselves with the notion that Papineau is the instrument. Heaven help their wits. He is in truth their master. Their natures crave support, and they will always seek it in characters more vigorous than their own. I never saw any one who seemed better versed than the Canadian Speaker in the arts and demeanor by which one man wields dominion over the minds of many, and he is daily becoming more confirmed in his sway, as they are in their obedience. The truth is that Papineau, with all his faults, is rather a fine fellow. I dare say we shall find him perverse and suspicious, and that if he ever quarrels with us he will be coarsely abusive. Still, the good points of his character are not to be denied. He seems to be irreproachable in his private life: in social intercourse he is mild and gentlemanlike, and if in politics he is too hot and unmeasured in his proceedings, I do not find that reasonable men accuse him of being dishonest. Whatever else he be, it is impossible to set eyes on him and not perceive that he is by nature, as much as by the station he has now won for

himself, the first of the French-Canadian race."

Between 1830 and 1837 a subservient Quebec grand jury found true bills against John Neilson, a Scotchman, and Charles Mondelet, a French-Canadian lawyer, for seditious writings. The accused were never tried, and Mondelet afterwards became a judge of the Superior Court. It was in 1834 that Papineau prepared his 92 resolutions setting forth the grievances of his countrymen, and after supporting them in the assembly he went through the country urging the people never to cease agitating until they were adopted. Dr. Tracey, and Mr. Duvernay were imprisoned in 1832 for calling the legislative council "a nuisance." One legislative councillor charged the whole French-Canadian population with attempting to establish a republic. Militia officers were dismissed for sympathizing with Papineau in his agitation. These occurrences served to irritate the people greatly, but the assembly remained firm, and Papineau always counselled moderation. During the four years 1832-36 the assembly left the government without supplies.

Lord Gosford, who arrived and assumed the governorship in 1835, opened the session of parliament in 1836 with a speech which showed that no attention had been paid to the public grievances. This exasperated the assembly. Twenty years of neglect, prevarication and procrastination had exhausted the public patience; and the assembly replied to the address, declining to deliberate until His Majesty's government should commence the work of justice and reform; and stated that until grievances were redressed no supplies would be voted. Gosford prorogued parliament at the end of thirteen days. A resolution was introduced in the British House of Commons by Lord John Russell, authorizing Governor Gosford to pay up arrears of government expenses with money from the Lower Canadian

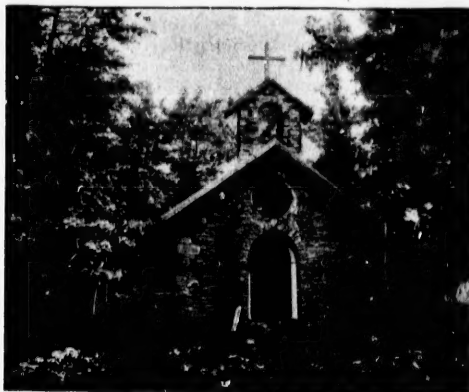
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treasury. It was that resolution that precipitated the insurrection, though it was never acted upon. The news of the adoption of this resolution, which deprived the assembly of control of public money, reached Canada in April, 1837, and at once indignation meetings were held throughout the Province. The agitation became so hot that Lord Gosford asked his Attorney-General to issue warrants for high treason against leading men. The judges would not grant warrants, but subservient magistrates did, and many arrests were made, while some of the accused escaped to the United States. Only three men organized armed resistance to the Governor's proceedings. They were Dr. Nelson, who led the insurrectionary forces at St. Denis; Thomas Storrow Brown, who commanded the patriots at the battle of St. Charles, and Dr. Chénier, who led a very poorly equipped lot of habitants in the fight at St. Eustache. The insurrection was quickly suppressed. Twelve of the leaders were hanged in Montreal, and a tall monument has been erected to their memory in Cote des Neige Cemetery, near the top of Mount Royal. Meanwhile Papineau, the most prominent figure of the whole insurrectionary movement, had not been captured, though a reward had been offered for his head. He and E. B. O'Callaghan had escaped to the United States, nearly losing their lives while crossing Lake Minisquoi on the ice. The insurrection, though not by any means a success from a military point of view, had drawn the attention of the British government and the world to the grievances of Canada and compelled their redress. Consequently it is to Papineau and other patriots of 1837, in Upper and Lower Canada, that

Canadians owe the liberties they enjoy to-day. The attempt of American sympathizers to aid the Canadians in 1838 ended in failure. Papineau, though residing in the United States



THE TOMB OF THE PAPINEAUS.
(Mausoleum in the Park.)

at the time, did not approve the expedition which met with disaster at Windmill Point.

There was, at the time, among the Democrats of the north, a strong feeling in favor of invading and, if possible, annexing Canada, but the South would not hear of the addition of another tier of anti-slavery States to the north, and President Van Buren sided with the slave-owners. But Papineau visited Washington, while negotiating with the United States government, and on that occasion the *Democratic Review* (of June, 1839) spoke of him thus:

"In this place we take pleasure in recording a passing tribute of admiration to the distinguished accomplishments of a gentleman who has been made the object of a great deal of flippant and ignorant abuse by the English portion of our American press. Our readers need not be told to how large a proportion of the Whig Press, this designation is properly applicable. We refer to Mr. Papineau, who by

common consent may be regarded as the representative of the French-American population. From some considerable opportunity of knowledge and personal judgment, we are fully justified in saying that Mr. Papineau is one of the first men of the time. Amiable, polished, and courteous, his manners are on a par with his eminent natural power and capacity of intellect. It is difficult to start a subject of conversation on any topic of literature, science, or politics, on which he does not seem practically qualified to shine, and that, not by the slightest seeming effort or desire for display, but as luminous bodies shine, in all directions, because such is their nature. His language is (in the English, as much as in his native tongue) remarkably eloquent, precise, forcible, while perfectly easy and natural; rendering him, with his vigorous clearness, the tide of thought which flows transparent through his conversation, one of the most eloquent and persuasive of speakers. When to these attributes we add great simplicity and kindness, both of character and manners; a perfect purity of domestic life; a rare generosity and philosophic candor towards his opponents, as remarkably transparent in his conversation, under circumstances little calculated to foster such a love of sentiment; an earnest patriotism; an incorruptible integrity, both of private and public character: all the severe virtues (to quote an expression of one who was no blindly partial judge) of a Cato, with a mind deeply imbued with the spirit of the liberal political philosophy of the age, we shall not be surprised in what Lord Durham styles 'the extraordinary influence' such a man has been able for many years to exert in the Assembly of Lower Canada; though it by no means follows that these qualities which have made him so continued a parliamentarian should make the same individual exactly the man for a physical revolution. It was the remark of a distinguished American

Senator, founded on acquaintance dating many years back, that he has never met with a foreigner so thoroughly conversant with the history, the literature, the principles and the men of our American politics, as Mr. Papineau, and we may here allude, in passing, to the fact that Mr. Papineau's opinions fully sustained and sympathised with the general policy of the late and of the present Democratic Administration, with which he is very familiar, and especially in the great struggle for financial reform, vitally important to the best interests, moral and material, of the country, in which the same have been so deeply engaged."

After a short residence at Albany and other points in the United States, Mr. Papineau visited France, where he remained for eight years, devoting himself to literary work and studies. A *nolle prosequi* had been entered in the Montreal courts in his case in 1843, unsolicited by him. This enabled him to return to Canada, the reward offered having been withdrawn; the whole proceedings amounting to an acknowledgment that there never was any just ground for his prosecution.

Papineau had been driven into exile, a price being placed upon his head, only to be told at the end of six years that he was an innocent man. On his return to Canada in 1847 he received four years of undrawn salary due to him as Speaker of the legislative assembly, and was elected to the parliament of the United Canadas by the County of St. Maurice shortly after his return. But the conditions had changed. The rights and privileges for which he had battled had been won, and instead of finding himself surrounded, as of old, by disinterested men struggling for popular rights, he was among "ins" and "outs," the dividing line in matter of principle not being defined. He did not take kindly to the idea of having a North-American country governed upon the monarchical plan, so he soon lost interest in the parliamentary proceedings, and began to devote himself

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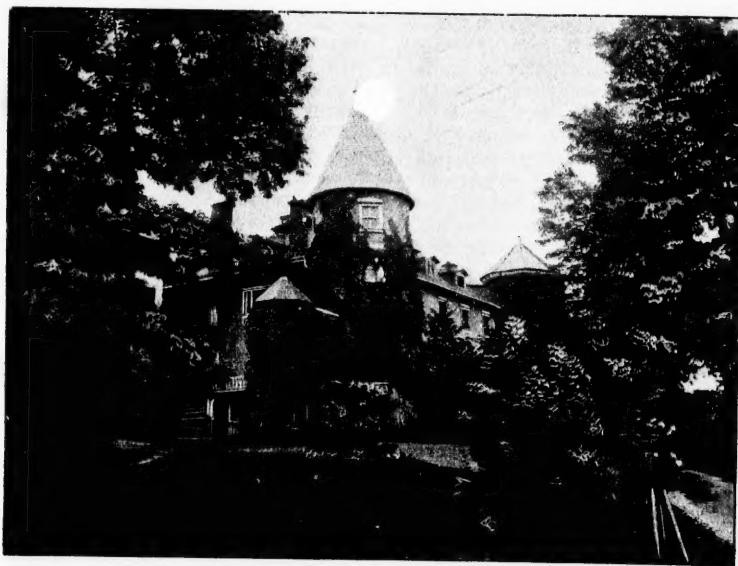
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cured for the people representative
government. If they failed to profit
by his labors it would be their own
fault. True, his triumph over misrule
was only acknowledged during his
exile, and he entered the new parlia-
ment chiefly to please others, for while
he did not approve the plan of govern-
ment set up by his successors in the
leadership of the assembly, he did not

thought more of him than of Cartier;
for while 1,000 pounds had been offer-
ed for his (Papineau's) head, only 500
pounds had been offered for Cartier's.

It was in 1854 that Mr. Papineau
abandoned political life, and retired to
his chateau at Monte Bello. But he
still took a lively interest in the affairs
of his country, and on December 17th,
1867, when eighty years old, delivered,
before the *Institute Canadien*, in Mont-
real, a remarkable address which has
been styled his political last will and



THE CHATEAU FROM THE RIVER BANK.

wish to disturb what the people had
accepted.

Curiously enough, one of the leaders
in the reconstructed parliament was
George Etienne Cartier, afterwards Sir
George Cartier, whose monument is
the only one yet erected on the Ottawa
Parliament grounds. Cartier had been
a "rebel," and had borne arms at St.
Denis, and Papineau, in his later con-
troversies with his old lieutenant, used
to say that the Crown evidently

testament. He vigorously condemned
the scheme for the confederation of
the British North American Colonies,
which had just been carried into effect;
pointing out that it was in some re-
spects a backward step, inasmuch as
the Upper House would be composed
of life members appointed by the
Crown—an abuse against which he
had battled for so many years. Many
of the difficulties which he had pre-
dicted would be experienced in the

working of the new system of government have now to be grappled with by Canadian statesmen, but in his farewell address, Papineau exhorted his countrymen to cling to those principles of justice and equality by which alone popular liberties can be preserved, and to endeavor to build up a nation based upon true democracy.

All through his speeches and writings there breathes that spirit of disinterestedness and devotion to the welfare of his countrymen, which were his prime characteristics. He was loyal to his friends, hospitable, and generous to a fault. In the course of a warm discussion in the assembly in 1834, he made a remarkable prophecy. He said, "My honorable friend boasts of his attachment to monarchy, and thinks that it can be perpetuated on this continent. I will venture to say to him that instead of Europe giving kings and kingdoms to America the day is not far distant when America will give presidents and republics to Europe." He was a warm admirer of the constitution of the United States and the Fathers of the Republic, as is evidenced by the fact that at his death, "The Life of Washington" and "The Life of Jefferson" were among the books on the table near his bedside. Papineau retained all his faculties up to the end and never required glasses to aid his eyesight. His closing hours have been described by Thomas Storrow Brown, the "General" of the insurrection army, in a brochure published in 1872. Papineau, trusting too much to his physical strength, went out in his dressing-gown and slippers on a cold day in September, 1871, to give instructions to some laborers who

were at work in his beautiful thousand-acre park, in which he took so much pride. He caught cold. Chills followed. Soon, congestion of the lungs set in, and the aged patriot found it difficult to breathe. For five days and nights, unable to recline in bed, he sat up on chairs, seldom sleeping, but showing his giant spirit in cheerful resignation. His mind was clear as ever, his courage and self-possession complete, while he discussed his approaching end with his family and sorrowing friends. He explained the provisions of his will, drawn by his own hand, and counselled his children with lessons of charity, patience and good will in all relations of life. In taking his medicine, he would say:—"All this I must do to please the doctor, but he knows as well as I do that it is useless." When his chair was drawn to the window overlooking garden and river he remarked sadly: "Never again shall I see my garden and flowers." At last his mind seemed to wander, and he was heard to say, "What a stupid thing for me to be sick here while such tremendous events are occurring, and the affairs of England and France are so entangled." On the evening of the 23rd of September, at half-past eight, he called his physician, and taking his hand said: "Everything that science and the kindest care could do for me has been done, but to no use. Adieu, my dear doctor." Half an hour later his spirit passed painlessly away.

Thus died Papineau, who some Canadians describe as a "rebel," but whom the majority revere as a patriot. History will proclaim him a friend of his race, and a great man.



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